

## Message Text

PAGE 01 SURABA 01097 02 OF 02 090828Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 OMB-01 CU-02 /071 W  
-----090832Z 092144 /20  
R 090722Z MAY 77  
FM AMCONSUL SURABAYA  
TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1011  
AMCONSUL MEDAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 SURABAYA 1097

4. ALTHOUGH SECURITY IN THE PROVINCE HAS RELAXED SOMEWHAT, THERE ARE STILL MORE TROOPS EVIDENT ON THE STREETS IN SURABAYA DN IN CARAVANS LEAVING THE CITY THAN IS NORMALLY THE CASE. VIOLENCE BROKE OUT ON AN ISLAND OFF PROBOLINGGO LAST WEDNESDAY WHEN A MOB BURNED DOWN THE VILLAGE HEADMAN'S THREE HOUSES, KILLED ONE OF HIS ASSISTANTS, AND SERIOUSLY INJURED TWO HANSIP (CIVIL DEFENSE) TROOPS. THE HEADMAN MANAGED TO ESCAPE, AND ORDER HAS BEEN RESTORED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE EAST JAVA POLICE CHIEF. SIDIQ AND OTHER PPP MEMBERS HAVE SAID THAT THIS WAS A RESULT OF THE HEAVY-HANDED TACTICS OF GOLKAR IN THE VILLAGES DURING THE CAMPAIGN. THE EAST JAVA PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES WERE CALLED UPON TO HELP RESTORE ORDER, BUT THE ACTUAL CAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE IN PROBOLINGGO IS STILL NOT CLEAR. WE HAVE ALSO HEARD RUMORS THAT AS MANY AS FIVE PRO-GOLKAR VILLAGE HEADMEN HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE THE ELECTION, BUT THIS IS NOT VERIFIABLE, AND WE ARE INCLINED TO DOUBT THAT REPRISALS HAVE REACHED THIS LEVEL SO SOON AFTER THE VOTING. AMONG THE MANY RUMORS SWEEPING THE CITY ARE THAT THE JUNIOR ARMY OFFICERS ARE UPSET OVER INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES MADE BY THE SECOND-LEVEL, MORE RADICAL PPP LEADERS DURING THE COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN,  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 SURABA 01097 02 OF 02 090828Z

AND THEY WANT TO IMPOSE SOME PENALTY ON THE RADICAL MOSLEMS NOW THAT THE CAMPAIGN IS OVER. THERE IS A REPORT THAT BAGUS SASMITO, COMMANDER OF KOREM 084 FOR SURABAYA CITY AND MADURA HAS THREATENED THE LIFE OF ZAKI GUFFRON. IF THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY IS INDEED GOING ON, THIS MAY EXPLAIN WHY PPP LEADERS ARE NOT PROTESTING THE ELECTION HERE, BUT ARE CHANNELING THEIR DISSATISFACTION THROUGH JAKARTA. AN ADHOC GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE, UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, JOURNALISTS, ARTISTS, AND UNEMPLOYED INTELLECTUALS, CALLING THEMSELVES "THE NEW GENERATION" HELD A MEETING AT A LOCAL

CULTURAL HALL FROM 5 PM ON THURSDAY EVENING UNTIL 1 AM ON FRIDAY. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING BEFOREHAND, WE UNDERSTAND, WAS TO COME UP WITH SOME SORT OF STATEMENT PROTESTING THE WAY THE CAMPAIGN AND VOTING WERE CONDUCTED IN EAST JAVA. HOWEVER, AT THE END OF THE EVENING, A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED NOT TO ISSUE ANY STATEMENT, BUT TO SIMPLY "GO UNDERGROUND" TO WORK AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. THEY SAID THEY WOULD GO AROUND THE DESAS AND INFORM THE PEOPLE OF THE UNFAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION. OUR INTERPRETATION OF "GO UNDERGROUND" IS THAT THEY WILL DO NOTHING.

5. COMMENT: THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT WILL USE THE NEXT THREE WEEKS IN MUCH THE SAME WAY IT USED TRANQUIL WEEK--TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION AND ALLOW THE HEAT OF THE ELECTION TO DISSIPATE. IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE GOLKAR VICTORY IN EAST JAVA WAS PROBABLY NOT ACHIEVED THROUGH WIDE-SPREAD DECEPTION AND CHICANERY DURING THE VOTING AND VOTE-COUNTING. MANY VOTES WERE THROWN OUT BECAUSE OF TOO STRICT APPLICATION OF THE VOTING REGULATIONS. THE VICTORY WAS LARGELY THE RESULT OF AN ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT TO DESTROY THE STRENGTH OF THE TRADITIONAL MOSLEM BLOC IN THE PROVINCE THROUGH BUYING THE LOYALTY OF MOSLEM TEACHERS, MAKING LARGE CONTRIBUTIONS TO MUSLEM BOARDING SCHOOLS, AND THREATENING PEOPLE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IF GOLKAR LOST. THE UNFAIR ADVANTAGE THAT GOLKAR USED ON ELECTION DAY WAS NOT GROSS NUMBER MANIPULATION BUT THE CONSEQUENCE OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 SURABA 01097 02 OF 02 090828Z

MONTHS AND YEARS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PREPARATION. BASED ON OUR OBSERVATION DURING THE COUNTING PROCESS, GOLKAR WILL PROBABLY INCREASE ITS MAJORITY IN EAST JAVA AFTER THE GOVERNMENT INCLUDES ALL THE BALLOTS THAT WERE DISALLOWED DURING THE FIRST COUNT.

6. AT LUNCH WITH THE PRINCIPAL OFFICER MAY 9, ARMADA COMMANDER ADMIRAL RUDY PURWANA SAID THAT WHILE TIGHT SECURITY WAS BEING MAINTAINED, HE DID NOT EXPECT SERIOUS DISTURBANCES TO RESULT FROM THE DISPUTE OVER THE ELECTION RETURNS.  
BROWER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 30-Aug-1999 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** THEIR  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 09-May-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977SURABA01097  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** SURABAYA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t197705108/baaabdmu.tel  
**Line Count:** 100  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Message ID:** 55976088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2340842  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** n/a  
**To:** JAKARTA INFO STATE MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/55976088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009